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Wildcatting on
The Sidewalks
Of New York

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Giving Advice: Perils and Pleasures

Giving advice can be a rather risky business, as a grade schooler pointed out in an essay on the subject. "Socrates was a very wise man," the youngster wrote. "He went around giving advice to the people. They poisoned him."

There are—as far as we know—no recorded incidents of employment service counselors being poisoned by applicants they have advised on finding a job. On the contrary, many counselors receive the heartfelt thanks of the people they have helped. That help can range from words of encouragement for those who equate rebuffs in the labor market with lack of self-worth, to concrete suggestions on making the most of a job interview. Still, in a world dominated by statistics, the question remains: Does counseling have a demonstrable impact on the ability of employment service applicants to get work? Yes, according to data drawn from a number of States and reported in this issue in an article entitled, *Counseling: Measuring the Job Payoff*.

Often, employment service counseling involves just two people, the counselor and the applicant. But, unlike romance, in counseling three or more is not necessarily a crowd. In fact, group counseling—in which one counselor works with a number of job applicants, manpower program participants, or students—can be very productive. Many people who are reluctant to discuss their experiences or opinions candidly in a one-on-one situation with a counselor open up when among their peers. The result is that participants learn from each other as well as from the counselor.

Two articles in this issue deal with group counseling. *Developing Group Leadership Skills* describes a workshop in which counselors and others can train themselves to use group methods effectively. *Career Guidance Through Group Dynamics* tells how Houston high school students are pooling their experiences and knowledge to ease the often confusing and frightening transition from the classroom to the workplace.

Ellis Rottman

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COVER: Wildcat Service Corporation employees help refurbish a building to be used by a New York community organization as a home for teenage girls. Photograph by David Smith.

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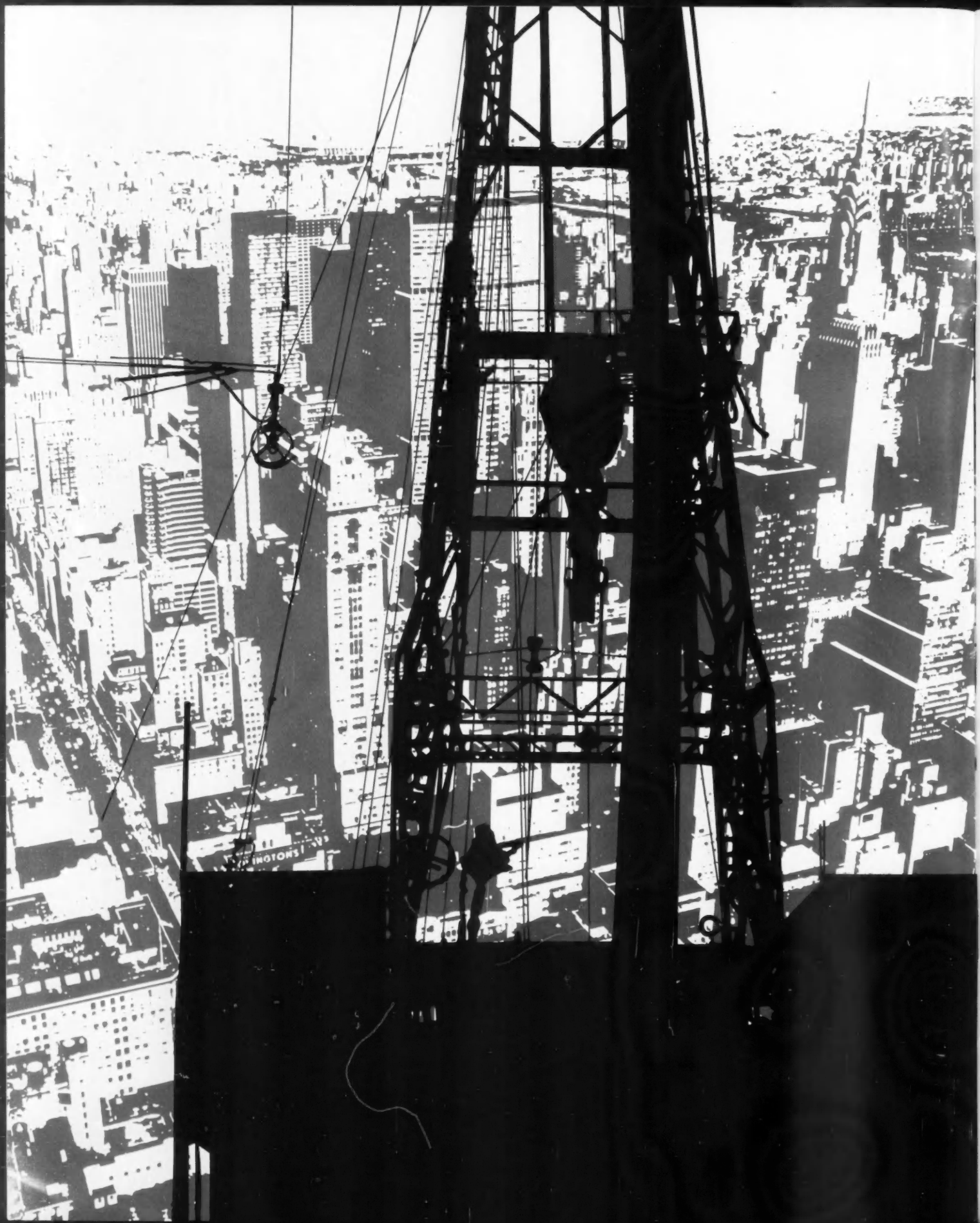

Wildcatting On the Sidewalks Of New York

by Timothy Larkin

Project for Ex-Addicts Stresses Development of Good Work Habits

Wildcatting: to prospect and drill an experimental oil or gas well . . . in territory not known to be productive.

WEBSTER'S DICTIONARY

The stuff was elusive, tantalizing. Here might be a gusher vomiting millions. Fifty feet away not so much as a spot of grease could be forced to the surface.

Edna Ferber, CIMARRON

New York City's Wildcat Service Corporation differs from the wildcat ventures being carried out all over the world in a number of important ways. It is not seeking to tap into oil-bearing sands but rather to find ways of releasing the energy of a group of human beings who would otherwise not have much chance to be productive.

And, where oil wildcatters painstakingly study geologic surveys, rock formations, and other evidence before drilling in territory not known to be productive, Wildcat Service Corporation operates only among those whom conventional wisdom would consider incapable of being productive. It prospects where "not so much as a spot of grease" could reasonably be expected: Among former heroin addicts, of whom most have been arrested, convicted, and served time in jail, 18 percent are on probation or parole, and 80 percent are on methadone maintenance.

Timothy Larkin is a contributing editor of MANPOWER.

"We have certain stiff requirements before we will hire," said Wildcat Manhattan Director Peter Cove. "The applicant has to be an ex-addict, over 18, stabilized on methadone or drug free. The applicant must be receiving welfare in the aid-to-disabled category. And the applicant can't have worked more than 1 year at any one job during the previous 2 years. In short, ours is a business offering jobs to marginally employable people who just happen to be ex-addicts. Otherwise we operate like any other service company, on a businesslike basis."

How businessmen such as Cove came to be wildcatting for untapped human energy on the sidewalks of New York stems from the experience a dozen years earlier of another businessman who rejected the fashionable belief that the individual is powerless to do anything about the course of the world or even the direction of his own life. Louis Schweitzer, a retired chemical engineer and manufacturer, happened to hear at a Manhattan cocktail party that New York City's jails were holding thousands who had not been convicted of any crime. They remained in jail—some of them for as long as a year—simply because they were too poor to make bail. Shocked, but skeptical, Schweitzer toured a Brooklyn jail to see for himself. He discovered that less than half the defendants could post the minimum bond of $500.

Although Schweitzer was not the first to feel outrage at this situation, he was—unlike most others—willing to lay his time, money, and reputation on the line to do something about it. From this chance encounter with an injustice to which most Americans were blindfolded, grew the Vera Foundation of Justice, which Schweitzer named for his mother and financed from his own pocket, contributing an average of $25,000 a year until his death in 1971, and willing to Vera a $250,000 office building. During its first 10 years Vera attracted general support grants totaling over $1.5 million, mostly from the Ford Foundation.

Vera's initial goal—to do something about the criminal bail system—has been largely achieved, not only in New York City but throughout the Nation as a result of the Bail Reform Act of 1966, legislation stimulated by Vera's pioneer work. Encouraged, the Vera Foundation, which later changed its name to the Vera Institute of Justice, looked for other ways by which changes in the criminal justice system might make a difference to the lives of the men and women caught up in its machinery.

Inevitably, Vera began to wonder what happens to the prisoner after he "has paid his debt to society." It was obvious society did not recognize that accounts were squared, but rather continued to exact stiff payments from an individual stigmatized by a criminal record. And it became increasingly clear that a major barrier to

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rehabilitation of ex-offenders was lack of jobs on the one hand coupled with a lack of ability to hang on even to marginal employment for certain groups such as recovered alcoholics and ex-addicts.

Vera discovered that many alcoholics in a city-run camp in the Catskills were recruited by resort owners to work during the summer season. Why were these alcoholics able to hold for 2 or 3 months jobs at resorts when they could not hold jobs at all back home? An analysis of the situation showed two key features were present for the alcoholics employed in the resorts that were not present at home: Working in a group of congenial persons with the same problems; and very clear job definition. With these factors as a guide, Vera designed a project in which a small group of out-patient alcoholics worked together cleaning and maintaining a number of New York playlots.

Drawing on this experience with alcoholics and knowledge gained by working with a city-operated methadone maintenance program, Vera developed a number of relatively small "supported" work projects for ex-addicts. These projects, which offered an opportunity to do useful work without displacing other workers, included the Manpower Administration-funded Pioneer Messenger Service (see *Delivering Jobs to Drug Addicts,* MANPOWER, February 1973) and a project in which ex-addicts handled large sums of money in State off-track betting offices. Pioneer was designed to find out if it was feasible to run a rehabilitation project for ex-addicts as a subsidized business, and if the business would cost less than providing full support for the addicts through welfare or institutionalization.

Pioneer and the other projects produced generally encouraging results, and with the help of a $303,000 grant from the Manpower Administration Vera then set up an independent nonprofit public service company—Wildcat Service Corporation—to give the supported work idea a large-scale test.

While the grant from the Manpower Administration pays much of the cost of the corporate structure, a major part of the salaries paid to the ex-addict workers comes through grants from other sources plus funds derived from a diversion of welfare payments. As explained by Ken Marion, Wildcat's executive director, "We obtained permission to divert into an employees' salary pool the $2,160 a year in public assistance payments for which Wildcat employees qualify. The applicant signs a waiver of his welfare payment, permitting the Corporation to disburse the payment to him on the basis of hours worked. If he works full-time, the ex-addict—whom we call a salary pool employee—gets more than double what he would be getting through welfare.

"We bill the welfare agency for $1.19 an hour for the hours actually worked. If a salary pool employee is off on an unexcused time, we don't bill the agency for that time. So the agency saves the money."

Work Behavior Stressed

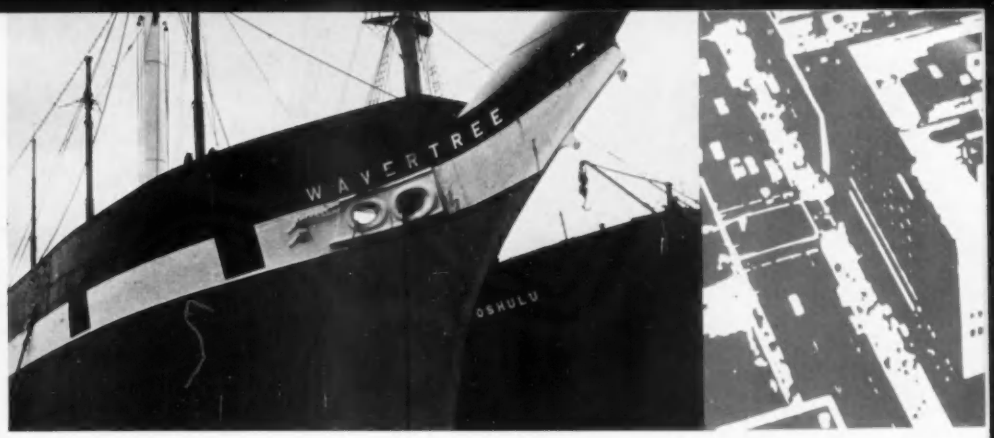
Perhaps the most important finding of the supported work program is that for many kinds of work possession of job skills is less important to a prospective employer than the applicant's work readiness. An employer is willing to train an employee, Vera found, if the employee is interested in working, is able to follow instructions, and appears regularly for work. As a consequence, Wildcat follows a strict and carefully devised performance demand and pay structure to encourage the development of acceptable work behavior.

As Manhattan Director Cove put it, "The people coming in here know they must work and produce. They get $95 a week to start, with eligibility for a raise after 8 weeks, and within 36 weeks they can increase that to $115. But it's not automatic. Raises are based on performance, like in any business. There's also a bonus, which can range up to $15 or $20 a month. That's based on the worker's performance, attendance, and punctuality. And that's not all; there's a chance for the worker to move on up to foreman at $125-$135 a week. And we watch this very carefully."

Exactly how carefully was explained by Cove's Management Information Service Director Jeff Salmon, who pointed out that every individual and work crew is monitored and evaluated regularly. "Each foreman submits a production report every week. From that we know how the crew is doing. We can compare the crew with others to see if it is within the right range. And we can not only keep track of what the employee is doing so that we can tell if he is performing, but there's a place on the weekly report and the monthly individual evaluation report that let's us find out if there's a problem. If it's a problem we can help solve, we try to do it."

"But there's no mollycoddling," Cove added. "We believe in them. And they sense that belief. Those that want to make it, do make it. But we are dealing with human beings and we have the same problems that other businesses have. If a worker doesn't perform, we know it, and he or she knows we know it. In such cases we first give a warning. If the behavior—say, chronic tardiness—persists, we suspend them. Then we terminate. And when we terminate, that's it. We don't take them back."

Those terminated revert to the city's welfare department. "They aren't penalized for dropping out of Wildcat, just as they aren't coerced to enter it," Executive



As part of their Pioneer Marine Technical School training, Wildcat employees spend half of each day helping to restore ships in New York City's South Street Seaport Museum, such as the steel-hulled square-rigger Wavertree.

Director Marion pointed out. "One thing about Wildcat we don't want misunderstood is that we are not a substitute for a drug treatment program. We are an adjunct to it. There hopefully comes a stage in rehabilitation at which a job is important and in which the ex-addict is ready for a job. That's where we come in."

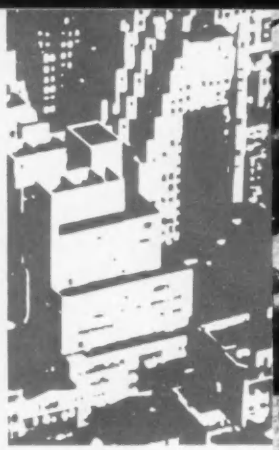
Possible resumption of drug use by participants is viewed as a job problem. "We don't do 'head things' with the employees, such as forcing them to take counseling or group therapy," Cove said. "The employee must know that productive work and good work habits, not personal therapy, are the reasons for his employment. And we don't go in for Gestapo tactics either, checking every move to see if someone is back on the stuff. But if a worker is, it's obvious. He's late or he's absent or he's 'nodding off.' We look at it as a job-related problem. We are interested in their performance on the job. And if that doesn't come up to standard, then we take action."

Basic Goals Established

During its first year of operation, the Wildcat Corporation established certain basic goals for itself:

- To see if the supported work techniques devised for Vera's small projects of up to 50 ex-addicts would be effective when expanded by several hundred percent.
- To test whether a private, nonprofit corporation would be able to provide satisfactory services for municipal agencies using supported work employees.
- To determine whether Wildcat could develop sources of funds other than grants in order to continue the supported work program.
- To determine whether large numbers of supported work employees would be able to move through the program and

The ferry Major General William H. Hart used to bob across the busy waters between Manhattan and Governors Island. Now it provides classroom space for the Pioneer Marine Technical School, where young ex-addicts learn marine engine repair and boat maintenance.



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into nonsupported, nonsubsidized jobs.

By the end of Wildcat's first year of operation, most of these goals had been met. By June 1973, there were 302 supported work employees on the payroll, involved in such projects as painting the city's 103,000 fire hydrant zones, translating for Spanish-speaking patients at Mt. Sinai Hospital, recycling waste paper, controlling rodents in Harlem and other areas, helping to run the mid-Manhattan branch of the N.Y. Public Library, cleaning masonry in public buildings, repairing tires on police department vehicles, and 23 other public service projects. By late 1973 plans were well advanced to expand the total operation from 300 to 3,000, with units in Brooklyn, the Bronx, and Queens, as well as Manhattan.

One of the most dramatic examples of the kind of reaction encountered by Wildcat's service operations occurred when it was asked by the city of New York to send a crew to handle maintenance at the 84th Police Precinct Headquarters in Brooklyn. When the police learned that ex-addicts would be moving around lockers containing guns, and storage rooms with evidence, including narcotics, they were appalled. Their hostility was matched by the apprehension of the ex-addicts, who would be working right in the heartland of "hassledom." As one-time addict and now Wildcat Staff Supervisor Valentine Lopez put it, "After so many years running from them, there we were right in the middle of them."

The mistrust between the two groups was reflected by the requirement that the ex-addicts be escorted by a police officer whenever they cleaned a locker room or other sensitive area. After a few months, as the once shabby station began to gleam, and as the ex-addicts demonstrated their trustworthiness, the attitudes of both groups began to change. "We spent years thinking these guys were not human, and hating them," Lopez said. "Now we see they are a great bunch of guys who will help you. And now I think they realize we are human too, and we can bleed too."

Police Officer Andy Tafuri did have one complaint. Throwing a beefy arm around Lopez' neck he shouted to Frank Rasbury, Wildcat's deputy division chief for Brooklyn, "You're not paying these guys enough! But don't take them away from us."

Tafuri's high degree of satisfaction with the work being done in the 84th precinct may be a bit extreme, but without exception every agency to which Wildcat is providing services has requested that they be continued and, if possible, expanded. As a result, Wildcat now is securing paid contracts from city agencies to continue services that these agencies obtained free during the initial year because the costs were covered by grants to Vera.

Complicated Bookkeeping

This emerging pattern of service contracts from city agencies and the potential of gaining similar agreements with private businesses demonstrates that the Wildcat concept does not need to rely entirely on grants or on diversion of welfare payments. In addition, the success of the program has helped produce growing support from sources other than the Manpower Administration, including the city of New York, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, the Environmental Protection Agency, the National Institute of Mental Health, and others. This can cause some complicated bookkeeping. "A single $95 weekly salary check can contain as many as 26 combinations of funds," Cove noted.

At this stage in the growth and development of Wildcat, a more equivocal answer must be given in assessing

One of Wildcat's most successful assignments in terms of productivity, high morale, and attendance is the Harlem Pest Control Project. Crews spend at least 2 weeks a month inspecting for litter and health violations, removing debris, exterminating rats, and doing similar block maintenance work. The balance of the month they perform such tasks as presenting slide shows and antidrug programs in neighborhood schools.

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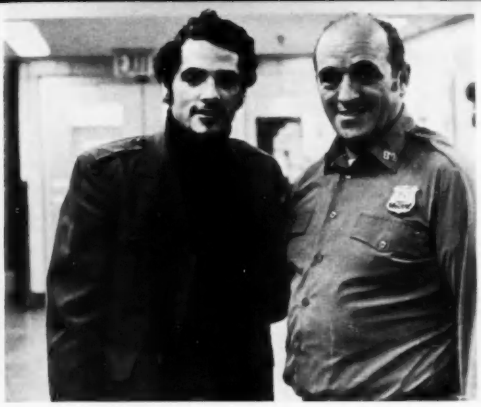
Wildcat maintenance crews perform a variety of chores, including washing windows at a city court building and cleaning and burnishing the walls of a Brooklyn sewage disposal plant.



Hostility and suspicion were evident on both sides when Wildcat workers first showed up at Brooklyn's 84th Police Precinct Headquarters to handle building maintenance. But the ex-addicts' job performance helped break down the barriers. Project supervisor Valentine Lopez and police officer Andy Tufari symbolize the new relationship built on trust and mutual respect.

progress toward its ultimate goal of moving ex-addicts from supported employment into regular jobs. After 6 months in the project, each participant's job readiness is evaluated. "We are not and do not consider ourselves to be an 'employer of last resort,' " Marion emphasized. "We are as concerned with out-placement as we are with recruitment.

"We recognized early on that this would be one of our major problems, and that it would require a great deal of our attention. Though we did develop some jobs and placed about 60 people, we came to realize that our managers already were fully committed to running the growing Wildcat program, and we couldn't ask them to solve this problem as well. So Vera has built a job development and placement capability for us."

Wildcat will not depend entirely on Vera and its network of contacts, however. Nonsupported jobs will continue to be developed in places where Wildcat people are working. "And, of course, we are using all the other resources available to us," Marion said, "such as the New York City Department of Employment."

"One of our problems," Cove continued, "is to try to maintain a balance between opportunity within the corporation and encouraging outward movement. A basic part of the supported work idea is the use of the target population—here ex-addicts—as foremen or first level supervisors. But we don't want to offer careers in Wildcat. On the other hand, we don't want to discourage talent either. So we make it possible for people to move up to foreman, but the next step, to supervisor, is much more difficult. Our people have to compete with those recruited on the outside and the decision is made strictly on the basis of ability."

Since Wildcat considers that it has two products to sell—people and services—it aggressively promotes both. A brochure lists the skills available, tells where employers should call to place job orders, and carries several impressive testimonials. Police Commissioner Donald Crawley reports that his department has "been able to take on about 40 or 50 Wildcat people. I think it's significant that these employees are now allowed into the police locker room where they work—without an escort." And Chemical Bank Assistant Vice President Douglas Ades states that the 12 Wildcat graduates now employed by his bank form "a highly motivated group with a real feeling of enthusiasm."

Marine Skills Taught

Sometimes, Wildcat employees don't have to be sold to employers at all—they are eagerly snapped up. This happy experience awaits the 36 ex-addicts now passing through Wildcat's Pioneer Marine Technical School, located at the South Street Seaport Museum. In a 6-month program divided between training and work, they learn to repair boat hulls and marine engines, skills that are in short supply. Charles Rapson, Pioneer Marine School placement director, says proudly, "We are not unique in promising 100 percent placement for our graduates. We are unique in delivering on that promise. So far there's been a good job offer for everyone of our 43 graduates—and we've placed them from Florida to Canada."

That is cheering news to Pioneer trainees like John Bullock, who sees the program as opening the way "to a decent job with decent pay. Otherwise," he adds, "I would probably been out there scurrying around, maybe still on drugs. You have a low-paying job and you get discouraged, so you quit and try something else, going from job to job."

When ex-addict students like Bullock finish the Pioneer training, they'll be moving into jobs that offer average starting pay of $2.50 to $3 an hour, with good prospects for moving up to $5 to $6 an hour within a year. One of the best features of working in the marine industry, Rapson points out, "is that they don't pay much attention to what happened in a worker's past. If a worker produces quality work that's what's important."

Since Wildcat operates like a business, project supervisors watch the balance sheet closely. At present, the outlay for each Wildcat participant is $8,250 a year, including the salaries paid to participants for the work they do. Part of this is offset by direct income from service contracts with city agencies. Overall, a Vera analysis indicates that benefits from the program just about offset costs. For every dollar spent, according to the analysis, the taxpayer gets back 92 cents.

Benefits calculated in the analysis include the value of goods and services produced by Wildcat participants, the taxes they pay on their salaries, a reduction in crime costs (police records show that the project reduces arrests among participating ex-addicts), health resources freed for other uses, and a reduction in welfare through accelerated movement of participants off relief rolls. "And," Vera analyst Lucy Friedman pointed out, "this does not include the future benefits that will go on year after year as the ex-addict works, pays taxes, and contributes to society."

Wildcat Supervisor Val Lopez may not have seen the cost-benefit analysis, but he has his own kind of bookkeeping: "Before this I was 12 years on drugs. Now I'm working. Now I can go home at night to my family. I pay taxes. I'm self-supporting. I love Wildcat."

Wildcat Foreman Fred Cordero summed it up another way:

"The only work I ever did before was 15 years in jail. Now I can look you straight in the eye." □

Developing Group Leadership S

Eight unemployed black men, ages 25–40, and one white woman employment counselor, all sprawled comfortably in overstuffed chairs. For awhile, no one spoke. At last one man spat out angrily, "That dude I saw today about the waiter's jobs? The one you told me about?" stabbing a finger at the counselor.

"Yes, Charlie? How'd it go? Not good, by the look on your face."

"You damn right, not good! Soon's the dude heard me talk about being in the pen—goodbye Charlie. No way, baby. Oh, he talk real nice, real cool. But I knew. No way he gonna hire a black man with a record. So why'd you send me to the dude if you knew I didn't have a chance?"

"Cool it, brother," said L. C. " 'Fore you go climbin' down her back, you tell us—not just her—you tell us what happened. Like maybe you blew it—sat down before he asked you, or somethin' like that. Those cats can be damned particular about the way you act when they're sizing you up. Like did you keep those shades on?"

"Damn right I did. Cost me $14.95!"

"Well, that's it, man. Lots of time these dudes figure you don't want them to see the pupils of your eyes cause you're strung out on drugs, man, drugs, and he don't want no junkies round his place."

"Okay," said the counselor. "So you kept your sunglasses on. I can see why—they are sharp. But L. C.'s right. Employers have told us they're suspicious of sunglasses because of the drug problem. I wonder if anything else happened in the interview. The man may be prejudiced, and if that's so I want to know it. But about 6 months ago he hired an ex-con and he was black. Why don't you show us what happened? I'll act like the employer. Then if we pick up anything that you could have done differently, the guys can tell you about it."

Charlie looked doubtful. "You mean, like act in a play?"

"That's right, brother," said Archie. "Here's your big chance to make it to Hollywood. Cause we the talent scouts!"

L. C. snorted, "Oh, come on, man, cool it. The dude don't need that kind of jazz. Hey, Charlie," he said, shifting his attention, "try it. Like I did the same thing last week. Next day, I was talking to the man about a job and it all came back to me—how to do it nice. Come on man, it won't hurt."

"Well," said Charlie, looking uncertain, "I don't know. How do you start . . .?"

"My big problem," said Carla, "is these guys in the office where I work. They never stop kidding me. Like this one guy keeps saying, 'Hey, Carla, I'm gonna blow in your ear, baby.' Stuff like that."

The other six Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) enrollees listened attentively to this slender dark-haired 19-year-old who had asked for the group's advice.

After a pause, Juan asked, "What do you say to the clown when he talks to you like that? I mean, do you tell him off?"

"That's just it," Carla answered, "I'm scared I'll get fired if I don't go along. There's only one other girl in the office—you all know I work in an Army draft office, and all the guys there are soldiers—and she's a lot older'n me and they pretty much leave her alone. There's this sergeant in charge, and when he's around they don't mess with me. But if he's out of the office they start this 'blow in your ear' stuff. And, well, a girl likes to be noticed, but these guys go too far."

The employment counselor running the group asked, "I wonder if anything like this has happened to any of the rest of you, and if so, whether you've found any good ways to handle it."

Peter spoke up. "It reminds me of those nurses at the hospital, always teasing me about my looks and my long hair." He blushed, and continued. "Like it's 'Hello, handsome, how's it going?' or 'Bet you drive the girls wild with those big brown eyes.' "

"In other words," the counselor said, "both of you are getting a lot of teasing on your job, probably because you're young and you're new. A mixture of teasing and flirting, right?"

"And maybe," Shirley chimed in, "maybe you kind of like it, too?"

"What's that supposed to mean?" asked Carla.

"Well, it's like you said, a girl does like to be noticed. Are you sure you haven't been giving these guys the come-on?"

"Yeah," said Juan, before Carla could reply, "I get the feeling that maybe both of you like the attention. You just wish you could turn it off sometime."

"Well," said Peter, "at least they are talking to me. But I just wish I could get them to stop that 'Hi, good lookin' stuff."

"Okay, gang," said the counselor, "we're beginning to get a handle on this thing. So what do you think Carla and Peter should do? Shirley?"

"Well, I got an idea. . . ."

Skills

by Harvey Bertcher

These are two examples of the ways in which group experiences have proved helpful in manpower agencies. Yet, group methods often are not used by interviewers, counselors, and others who give direct service to the public. Some staff are more comfortable in a one-to-one situation than when faced by a group; others believe that groups cannot work in manpower agencies because they think it is impossible to assemble several clients with similar concerns at the same time and place. Still others simply lack the training to know how and when to use a group approach.

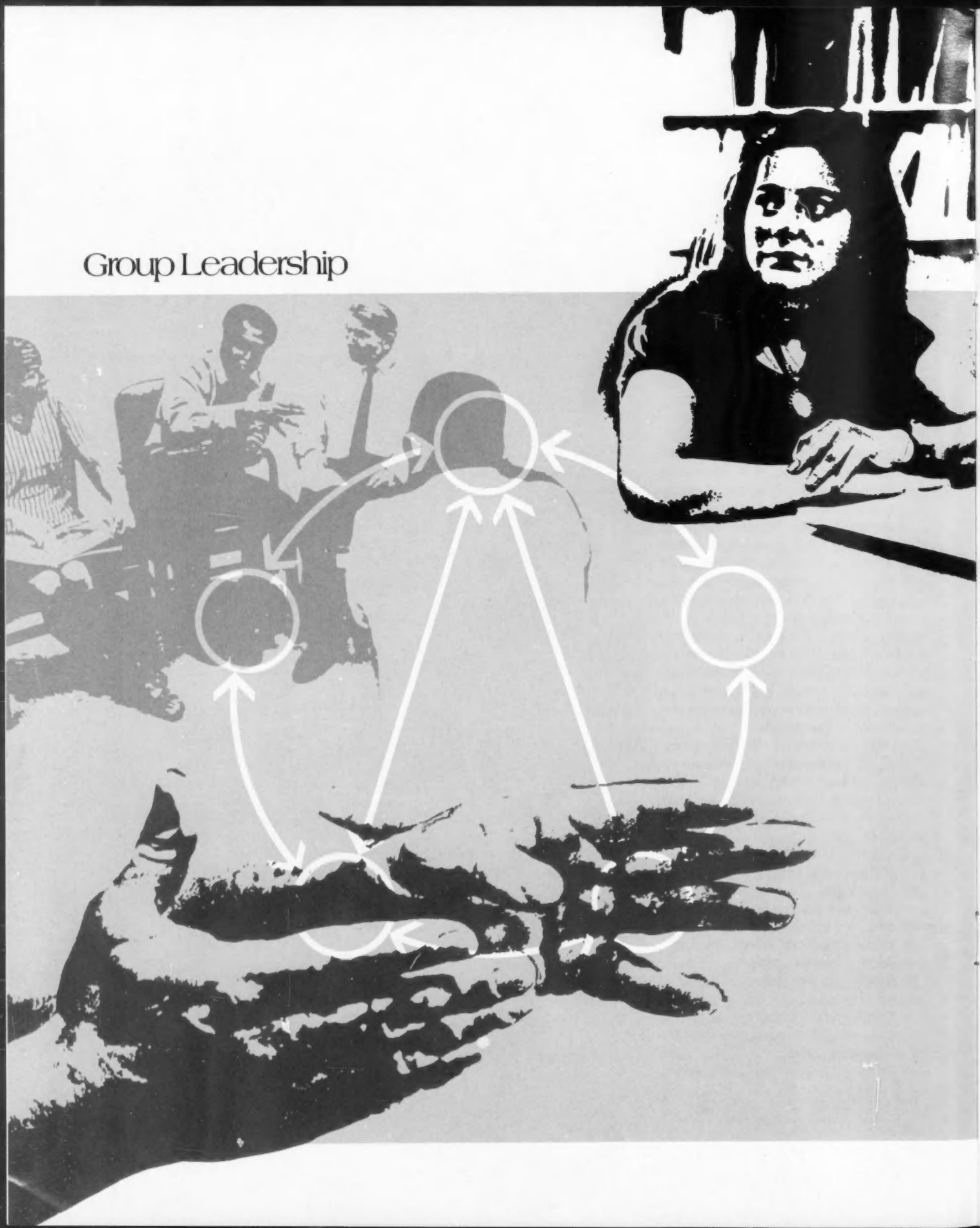
Now there is available to manpower agencies a self-instructional, self-administered workshop series on group leadership techniques. Developed by Manpower Science Services under contract with the Manpower Administration, the Group Leadership Techniques Workshop consists of 15 sessions. It was designed not just for counselors, but also for leaders of orientation groups, staff meetings, staff development programs, and similar activities.

Among the techniques workshop participants learn are how to:

- Form a group.
- Work out an agreement on group objectives and ground rules.
- Listen closely to others, ask questions, and give information.
- Respond to the feelings of others in a useful way.
- Teach by demonstration.
- Reward (praise) group members for effort and achievement.
- Focus and summarize a discussion.

Harvey Bertcher, professor of social work at the University of Michigan, was director of the project that developed the group leadership workshop described in this article.

Group Leadership



• Balance participation among group members.

• Inform people of discrepancies in words and actions.

• Resolve conflicts among group members.

The workshop is designed for 6 to 12 staff members who meet for a 1½- to 2-hour session once or twice a week. Each session is devoted to one technique of group leadership. Participants read about the technique in the workshop handbook, see a film on it, discuss it, and practice it.

The workshop series has been designed to train staff members inexpensively without taking them away from their workplaces. It is managed by a "convenor," an employee of the agency where the training is being conducted, who is designated by the manager to perform the functions as described in the convenor's manual. Basically, the convenor sets up workshop meetings, arranges for film and projector, and guides the discussions if it is decided by the group that the convenor should do so. The manual is structured so that the convenor does not need to be an expert in group techniques.

The workshop[1] was developed by Manpower Science Services with help from a number of manpower agencies, especially the Michigan Employment Security Commission's Detroit Youth Opportunity Center (YOC). The prototype workshop was a 12-week course taught by a Manpower Science Services staff member. Participants included seven Detroit YOC staff members, three Work Incentive (WIN) Program counselors, and a member of the Michigan Employment Security Commission headquarters office staff.

As the class sessions progressed, the participants assumed a double role: They were students in the seminar as well as critics of the handbook prepared by Manpower Science Services as the basic text for the course. Plans had called for the film component of the training package to show YOC staff members trained in the course conducting actual group sessions with YOC clients. But technical problems—lighting, sound, performing in front of three television cameras—made it clear this was not feasible, and the YOC staff agreed that the movie should be made in a television studio, with actors.

YOC staff members in the course provided biographical data for the roles of the group leader and applicants in the film, and they assisted in auditioning actors for these parts. To get a feel for their roles, the actors—posing as jobseekers—visited the YOC office and mingled with other applicants. They also discussed the kind of applicants they were to portray with YOC staff members.

Agencies Test Workshop

Once the handbook, convenor's manual, and film were ready, other manpower agencies were recruited to test the package. At the Detroit YOC, two of the original class members served as convenors for some of their fellow staff members who had not participated in the original class. Other field test agencies included the Denver Concentrated Employment Program (CEP), the Denver YOC, the Jacksonville (Fla.) YOC, and a group of Michigan Employment Security Commission counselors from a variety of local offices. Participants in these test classes included employment service counselors and interviewers, and Job Corps personnel.

These test workshops were run by the agencies whose personnel were being trained, using the convenor's manual as the course guide. Workshop participants

taught one another, rather than relying on an expert instructor. The convenors made arrangements for the classes and chaired discussions (unless participants decided, as they sometimes did, to take turns in this role), but did not instruct. Based on feedback and suggestions from the test workshops' convenors and participants, the handbook and convenors' manual were extensively rewritten.

Reports from the test sites indicated that workshop participants rated the training materials highly and found the course stimulating and helpful in their work. For many participants, the workshop was the first time they had an opportunity to study, discuss, and share their experiences, and to make decisions about the techniques they use in their work. A number of persons who completed the course said the training had improved staff morale and made unit staff meetings more productive. One participant summed it up this way:

"It's made a group out of eight individual counselors." □

[1] Persons interested in obtaining the workshop series should write the Manpower Administration, Division of Research and Utilization, Room 9112, 601 D St. NW., Washington, D.C. 20213.

Career Guidance Through Group I

The Houston high school students had a big problem. And it was up to them to find a solution—together.

The Case of Allison Jacobs, as the problem they dealt with was called, featured a fictitious person who refused to work overtime, a supervisor who asked her to resign on that account, and a company with no overtime policy. The task set out for the students was to explore this case as though they were representatives of management and decide on a realistic overtime policy for the company.

It's all part of a somewhat novel approach to occupational guidance now being used by Texas high schools. To learn about the world of work and themselves as future workers, students meet regularly in groups with 8 to 15 members for a discussion of employment opportunities and requirements and to assess their own job interests and aptitudes. The atmosphere in these meetings, which are during the school day, is unlike that in a typical classroom. Students sit in a circle, talk freely, and can draw upon personal opinions and experiences as well as from books or other sources of information.

A teacher or counselor, who stays outside the circle, introduces the subject for each meeting, stimulates discussion, and adds supplementary information and ideas. But this person does not preside over the group.

The Texas schools adopted this approach to vocational planning after it was explored in a Manpower Administration experimental and demonstration project in Houston. Operating under the name, "A Group Career Guidance and Job Placement Program for High School Youth," the project used group dynamics as a way to help students plan their ca-

Patricia Marshall is assistant editor of MANPOWER.

Dynamics

Students Learn About the 'Me' and 'They' Of Employment and How the Twain Meet

by Patricia Marshall

reers, find suitable jobs, and meet employer expectations. Rather than tell them about the world of work, this method lets them discover it—and their capabilities—for themselves.

In doing so, students use a curriculum which leads them into productive areas of study. The Case of Allison Jacobs, for example, is part of orientation to the group guidance program. To solve this case, students are cast in the role of management and have 15 minutes to reach a decision. The rules of the game are stated: Players have a right to talk, should be respected for their opinions, and should listen to the views of other people in the group. Typically, students begin shedding any inhibitions they might have about offering opinions in school — now that their opinions are sought—and they find that the subject matter offers all group members a kind of equality they do not always have in academic or shop classes.

Three Areas Emphasized

The group guidance project was designed to provide occupational information to youth in the last 3 years of high school. In schools that adopt the entire program (some use it only for upper classes), students in the 10th and 11th grades spend about 14 hours during one semester in group guidance sessions. Twelfth graders have about 8 hours in group sessions in the first half of the school year. In the second half, they meet individually with teachers and counselors on their post-high school plans.

Three areas are emphasized in the program: Self-awareness (the "me" in the employment picture); labor market information (the "they" in employment); and tools for employment (putting the "me" and "they" together). In a 3-year program, self-awareness is emphasized the first year. The emphasis shifts during the next 2 years until, during the final year, students spend most of their time learning to write an effective resume, to have a successful job interview, and to use other employment tools.

According to a recent survey in the PERSONNEL AND GUIDANCE JOURNAL, group counseling is now being used for a variety of purposes by many secondary schools. In these groups, students discuss "not only traditional guidance and counseling concerns but also such issues as study skills, human relations, drug abuse, and sex education," the magazine reports. "Parents, either alone or with students, are also participating in such counseling situations."

However, many such accounts make it clear that group counseling does not always draw deeply on peer knowledge—often, it simply is multiple counseling. Even when peer knowledge is tapped, this may amount to little more than a few students advising other students. In a group dynamics approach, such as that used in the Texas schools, most of the information and decision process is a shared experience of all participants.

Group dynamics has a number of advantages, its adherents say. They find that people in this setting typically exhibit many common concerns, and this tends to relieve individual feelings of anxiety and loneliness. At the same time, people may bring many different experiences into a group. They may have had access to different information, learned different ways to view and analyze it, and tried different strategies in dealing with their needs.

This vein of experience comes with success or failure—or something in between—imbedded in it. As individuals in a group decide on ways to reach their goals, they can mine this vein. What's more, it has been demonstrated that they can do so in relative safety. During a group discussion, the risks involved in verbalizing possible solutions seem slight compared with the risks that may await the unwary or the unwise in the world of action. And when people stumble or fall in their verbal approaches to a problem, the group can provide a supportive atmosphere in which there is both acceptance of them, in spite of their weaknesses, and a willingness to help.

Before launching its group guidance project in Houston, the Manpower Administration funded several efforts in which a group approach proved useful in helping adult jobseekers. One of these was in Baltimore, where job counseling and referral clinics were held for unemployed people living in poverty areas. During group counseling, the adults

Group Dynamics

shared their frustrations, their experiences with various employers, and the tactics they had used in getting a job. Generally, they were willing to accept advice from fellow jobseekers more readily than from the clinic counselor, who had a middle-class background. In other cities, group guidance also was used successfully to help epileptics get work.

The experimental and demonstration project for Houston high school youth began in 1968, when the Manpower Administration awarded a contract to the Vocational Guidance Service (VGS), a United Fund organization. At first, the purpose was to develop and field test a group guidance model to help disadvantaged students do occupational planning. However, it soon became clear that all secondary school youth need such services and VGS goals were broadened to meet these needs.

In the project's first 3 years, 16 high schools in Houston and the surrounding county tried out this counseling method. Using materials prepared by VGS, more than 5,500 students attended small, group sessions at school and helped each other explore the many steps involved in moving beyond school walls into the world of work, either upon graduation or after further training.

Then, for 2 more years, VGS drew on the results of this field test to refine curriculum aids, prepare training materials for school personnel, and develop administrative aids for organizing a group guidance program.

The cooperative effort by VGS, school staffs, and students produced a model program which schools throughout the country can adapt to meet their needs. Although the model is shaped largely around group methods and focuses on the stimulation of student interest in occupational planning and on the provision of occupational information to large num-

bers of students, it does not bypass individual counseling, which is particularly recommended for seniors. VGS also stresses the importance of job placement bureaus in the schools to work closely with local employment service offices and offer students job development, referral, and followup services. Various methods for organizing these bureaus are outlined in the VGS program materials.

The group guidance curriculum is merely a broad design for a counseling method that worked well in Texas schools, VGS says. The organization recommends that it not be used as a rigid, mandatory schedule for students elsewhere. To help schools adapt it to their own students' needs, VGS offers advice in its program materials on ways that other schools can adjust and implement the program's content. Still, if a curriculum is to be effective, VGS says, it must include some elements of the demonstration program's chief components—the development of self-awareness, information on occupations and the labor market, and training in the use of employment tools.

During orientation to the group guidance program, VGS uses a series of slide films and a taped narrative describing an actual business firm, its products and their uses, and its workers. A group is told by its facilitator that they will run the company a few weeks and will have to make many decisions which affect production and the lives of employees.

Once students understand what is expected of them, they adapt rapidly to the group method of learning, according to VGS researchers. "Given a task to which they can relate, they talk freely and enthusiastically," VGS says. "Hostilities which they have not felt free to express before are often brought out, and group members become adept at presenting and justifying their ideas."

Group Dynamics

In the group setting, students feel comfortable about questioning each other's statements and ideas, VGS found. Learning takes place as a student defends his arguments—or finds he cannot defend them and must broaden his base of information. However, the groups do not always reach unanimous decisions.

"This is important because what is right for one individual may not be right for another," VGS says. "Group processes, properly employed, can reinforce this individuality much more effectively than can a lecturer. In the group setting, individuality is reinforced, not stifled. Students learn to interact with and relate to each other, helping each other to form positive attitudes toward employment, education, and working with others."

After orientation, student groups delve into the self-assessment segment of the program. This helps the youth evaluate interests and aptitudes in terms of career decisions, to relate what they know and what they have done to job or training possibilities, and to help them learn how behavior reflects attitudes and how attitudes affect employment.

First, the group members take up the hypothetical case of George Armstrong. A young worker, Armstrong is undecided whether to start into a machinist apprenticeship program or to go to college when he has enough money saved. In discussing this case, students read resumes of Armstrong's academic and work experience. Then they dip into the DICTIONARY OF OCCUPATIONAL TITLES to learn about the machinist's trade, training, employment outlook, and pay, and they study basic qualifications for entry into an apprenticeship. They also examine college entrance requirements and various scholarship aids for collegians.

At other group sessions, the students consider cases dealing with tardiness, deportment, grooming, initiative, adaptability, tact, manner of following directions, ability to accept criticism, and other worker traits. As they weigh pros and cons in each case, students learn about job descriptions, personnel ratings, legislation prohibiting discrimination in employment, and other information about the working world.

Then group members turn from a study of other people to the study of themselves. They rate the interests and values they hold dear, and at one session they discuss the topic, "How to Use School." This part of the program helps them to mesh individual career interests with the choice of high school courses. Although some students may have gone through this process before, others have not, and all tend to gain new insights by sharing their ideas and conclusions with their peers.

Practice Resumes Written

The students' active role in seeking out occupational information continues in the segments of the program which focus on labor market needs and prospects and on useful techniques for getting a job. The youth not only learn what goes into good resumes, for example, but practice writing resumes and discuss the weaknesses and strengths of each other's presentations. During this part of the program, they also listen to speakers from local business firms, practice taking preemployment tests, learn the content of jobs that interest them, and find out how to get more information and help in the job search.

To help schools set up a group guidance program, VGS prepared the following materials (which can be obtained for the price indicated from the National Technical Information Service, 5285 Port Royal Rd., Springfield Va. 22151; specify accession number listed and enclose payment with order):

- Operations Manual. Offers comprehensive aid to schools in organizing and running an effective group program. PB 222123. $6.
- Curriculum Manual. A compilation of student curriculum materials which supplement the materials available in the Operations Manual. PB 222124. $6.
- Training Manual. Tells how to structure training workshops for teachers, counselors, or other school personnel who are involved in a group guidance program. PB 222411. $4.75.
- Community Resources Manual. Describes sources of job information in the Houston area and is intended as a guide to schools as they gather similar information on their own communities. PB 222412. $5.50.

Prints of video film and slides with audiocassettes soon will be available. These show various phases of group guidance such as student groups in action, methods that stir up a good group discussion, and various kinds of worksites. This multimedia kit will be available through the National Audiovisual Center, General Services Administration, Washington, D.C. 20409.

Costs for the development and refinement of the group guidance model, preparation of materials to be used by schools throughout the country, and an evaluation of the program that has been carried out by the University of Houston total $670,520. This sum also includes training of nearly 600 school and district administrators, counselors, teachers, and others who are working with this program in Texas secondary schools. In effect, this was a field test of the VGS group guidance and training materials from a staff viewpoint.

The Texas Education Agency now is underwriting the costs of installing the group guidance program in schools throughout that State. □

Counseling: Measuring the Job Payoff

by Philip Mason

Occasional cards or letters from people they have helped tell employment service counselors in a way nothing else can just what their services have meant to those receiving them.

"You were there as a friend when I needed one the most," one applicant wrote from her new job.

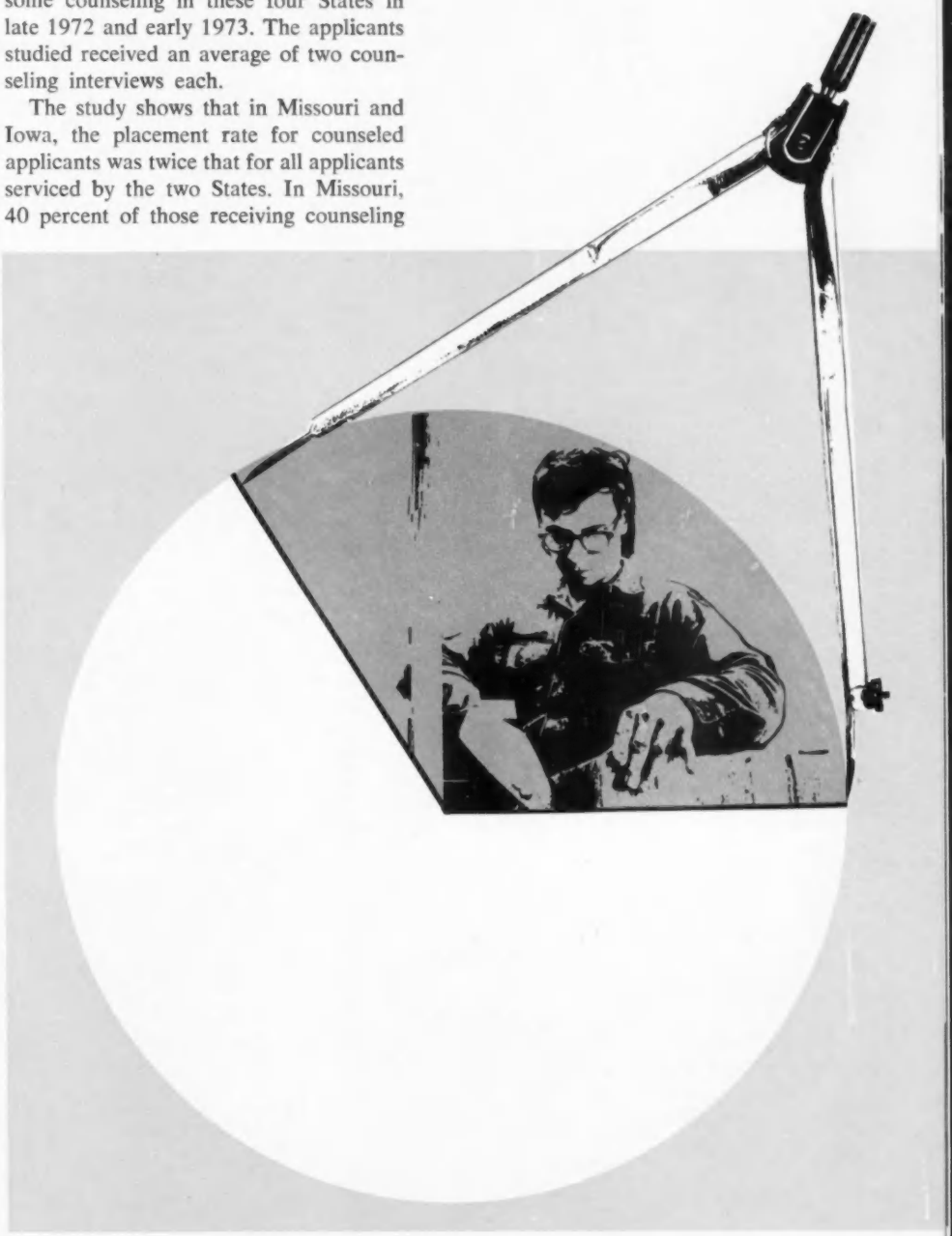
Another, on the stationery of a midwestern junior college, said: "If you had not had a strong belief in me, perhaps I would have decided against even trying to go to school. Thanks again for encouraging me to go on when I could have so easily stopped. You will never be forgotten." When she had sought out the employment service, this woman had just been divorced and was about to apply for welfare to support her five children. Counseling helped her decide the kind of training she should pursue, after which she got a job in the business office of the college.

A man injured in an industrial accident who was eased through the transition from manual work to a desk job wrote this of his counselor: "Her natural concern for my success was the important thing. The basic motivation in her is to really help a person. This awakened the motivation in me. She turned on the right switch in my head."

In human terms, these examples supply convincing evidence of the effectiveness of employment service counseling. But what about the value of counseling as measured in the practical terms public administrators must use—does counseling help people get jobs? Data from Iowa, Missouri, Utah (see chart), and Wisconsin indicate it does.

A study completed by David W. Brenna, counseling supervisor of the Wisconsin State Employment Service's Bureau of Manpower Development, covered more than 10,000 applicants who had received some counseling in these four States in late 1972 and early 1973. The applicants studied received an average of two counseling interviews each.

The study shows that in Missouri and Iowa, the placement rate for counseled applicants was twice that for all applicants serviced by the two States. In Missouri, 40 percent of those receiving counseling



Philip Mason is a member of the Manpower Administration information staff.

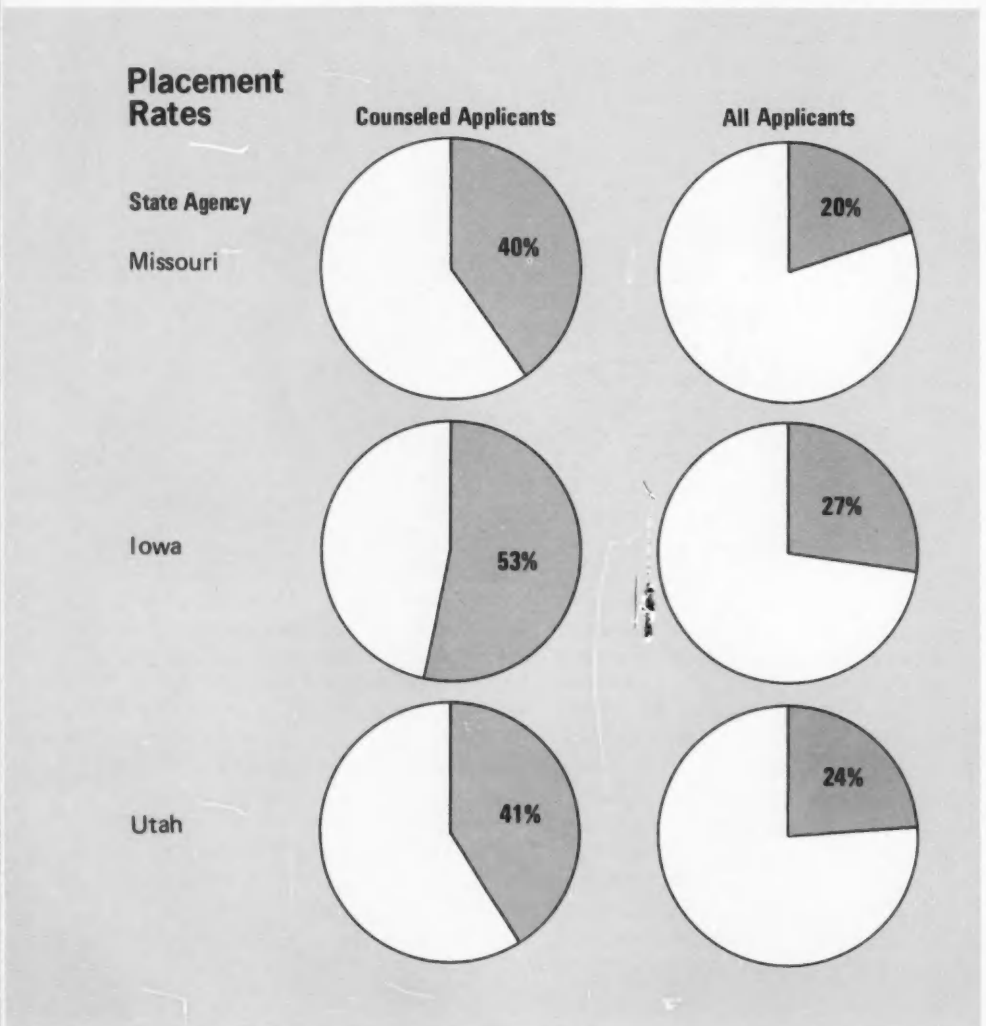
Job Payoff

were placed in jobs compared with only 20 percent of all applicants. The comparable figures in Iowa were 53 percent and 27 percent.

In Utah 41 percent of counselor-assisted individuals were placed compared with 24 percent for all applicants.

In Wisconsin, the records of a random sample of recent applicants who had received counseling were compared with an equal sample of those who had not. Thirty percent of those counseled were placed compared with 16 percent of those who had not been counseled.

An added indication of the value of counseling, according to the study, is that counseled applicants were more difficult to place than those who were not counseled, as measured by the number of employment barriers the people in each group possessed. In Wisconsin, for example, 64 percent of the counseled applicants had two or more employment barriers (such as being poor, disadvantaged, handicapped, a school dropout) versus only 28 percent of those not counseled.



Among disadvantaged applicants in Wisconsin, 38 percent of those who had received counseling were placed in jobs whereas none of the "not counseled" was placed. For the handicapped the story was even more impressive, with 69 percent of those counseled being placed compared with none who received no counseling. But there was one group, normally regarded as having special employment problems, for whom counseling made no difference. The job placement rate for people under 22 was 26 percent, whether they received counseling or not.

"In general," Brenna's study says, "as the number of counseling interviews increase there is a corresponding increase in the placement rate." In Utah, for example, the placement rate rose to 48 percent for those receiving three interviews, 62 percent with four interviews, and 65 percent with five through nine.

But the study found a sort of law of diminishing returns at work here. The placement rate dropped for applicants requiring more than nine interviews. The rate for those counseled 10 to 19 times sank to 53 percent and for those with 20 or more sessions to 27 percent.

Additional studies, recently received by the Manpower Administration, from Minnesota and Ohio also indicate that counseling helps people get jobs. Both States reported that counseled applicants are placed at a rate twice that of non-counseled applicants.

To assist in gathering data on counseling, the Manpower Administration is developing a system that will produce information on the results achieved for counseled applicants. □

News&Notes

"Drop-ins" are trying to persuade high school students not to become dropouts. The drop-ins are professional athletes who visit schools and youth centers around the country and combine discussions of sports with advice on the importance of education. Drop-In, the formal name of the program, is sponsored by Owings-Corning Fiberglass Corporation and has been in operation since 1968. Athletes participating in the program are employed by Owings-Corning to make sales presentations to customers and distributors. But this often takes only a few hours a day, so with the help of the firm's customers and distributors arrangements are made for the athletes to spend some time with youngsters.

* * *

A master's degree program to prepare specialized nurse practitioners in family and community health care will be developed and carried out by the University of Washington School of Nursing, Seattle, under a 3-year, $275,000 contract with the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. During each year of the contract, the university is to train a group of nurses for highly independent action in the primary care of children and adults living in rural and urban communities. The training emphasizes expertise in clinical skills, teaching of health maintenance, strategic use of resources for health care and rehabilitation, and professional teamwork with physicians and members of health-related disciplines.

* * *

Charging sex and age discrimination, four New York Playboy bunnies who were dismissed because they allegedly lost their "bunny image" filed complaints with the State Commission on Human Rights. All of the discharged bunnies are over 28 years old.

* * *

Women dentists in the United States—there are now more than 3,000 of them—are the subject of "Where I Want to Be," a 28-minute, color, sound film available on free loan from Association Sterling Films, 600 Grand Ave., Ridgefield, N.J. 07657. It is suitable for showing to young women in high school and junior college who are seeking information on career opportunities.

Only a relative handful of companies have adopted it, but a flexible work schedule is growing in popularity in the U.S., according to the Wall Street Journal. Generally, flexible time permits an employee to select when he wants to report to work--within certain limits. For example, the worker may be allowed to begin any time between 6 a.m. and 9 a.m. and work a full 8-hour day from that point. Flexible time began in West Germany and spread through Europe before crossing the Atlantic to this country.

* * *

The Blackwell (Wis.) Job Corps Center has founded a fraternity--Beta Nu Sigma--as "an interracial society of Job Corpsmen interested in the promotion and betterment of brotherhood for eternity." The Blackwell chapter has taken the letter Alpha--the first in the Greek alphabet--and hopes other chapters will soon be formed.

* * *

National and international labor unions headquartered in the U.S. had a membership of 20.8 million in 1972, an increase of about 144,000 from 1970 and the smallest 2-year gain since 1962, according to preliminary findings by the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics. The membership of public and professional employee associations reached 2.2 million, an increase of nearly 20 percent, or 347,000 over 1970. In the same 2-year period, the U.S. labor force and employment in nonagricultural establishments grew at a faster rate than these memberships. Thus, proportionately there was a decline in union and employee association membership--from 24.7 to 24.3 percent of the labor force, and from 30.1 to 29.7 percent of employment.

* * *

The first 1-year apprenticeship program in the history of the Labor Department has been approved for the training of apprentice orthotic and prosthetic technicians. The new national standards will be administered by the Manpower Administration's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training (BAT). Up to now, apprenticeships under programs registered with the BAT ranged from 2 to 5 years, with most in the 3- to 4-year category. Standards for the new programs were developed by the

American Orthotic and Prosthetic Association in cooperation with BAT. Purpose of the standards is to guide members of the association in establishing uniform, supervised, on-the-job training programs. Orthotic and prosthetic technicians create, fabricate, and repair rehabilitative corrective and replacement appliances for people with disabling conditions of the limbs and spine.

* * *

The proportion of U.S. high school graduates going on to college soon after graduation has dropped sharply since the peak of 55 percent in 1968, according to the U.S. Department of Labor.

* * *

"Rehabilitation Potentials of the Physically Disabled" will be the subject of a seminar May 10-12 in Miami Beach sponsored by the University of Miami School of Medicine. Information can be obtained from the Department of Orthopedics and Rehabilitation, P.O. Box 875, Biscayne Annex, Miami, Fla. 33152.

* * *

The National Urban League has been awarded a new $4.4 million contract to prepare 2,556 low-income people for construction jobs in 43 cities. Under the 1-year contract the League will operate through 32 affiliates to recruit and tutor 2,244 youth for apprentice entrance exams in the various construction trades, and to train 312 workers with some construction experience so they can qualify for journeyman status and union membership. As a byproduct of the contract, about 22,000 youth will get instruction in mathematics, reading, and other trade-related subjects, even though not all will qualify to take the final apprenticeship tests. Most participants are expected to be minority group members.

* * *

The Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC), AFL-CIO, has been awarded a $260,000 Manpower Administration contract to train and place 200 Job Corps women enrollees as clerks for railroad office operations. The training will be conducted at Job Corps centers in Charleston, W. Va., Los Angeles, and Tulsa. The union has already placed 90 Job Corps women under previous contracts, 63 of them in clerical jobs paying $33 a day to start ($39 after 6 months) with eight major railroads and the REA.

* * *

An estimated 30,000 students attending 288 health professions schools will receive either a Federal loan or scholarship or both in the 1973-74 school year, according to the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Schools determine which students get Federal aid and how much.

A record 53,059 apprentices completed their training in 1972, exceeding by almost 8,000 the previous record for completions set in 1970. More than 53 percent of the 1972 completers were in the construction trades. There were 103,527 new apprenticeship registrations in 1972, the fourth highest annual total on record.

* * *

Some 2,200 people will get jobs or skill upgrading in environmental protection work under a $1.8 million training contract between the Manpower Administration and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). EPA will promote, develop, and subcontract manpower programs in 39 States and Puerto Rico to help alleviate the shortage of skilled subprofessionals in the environmental pollution control and abatement fields. The 1-year contract calls for at least 40 percent of the trainees to be new hires. Of these, nearly half will be Vietnam-era veterans, with special emphasis on disabled veterans. The remaining 1,300 training opportunities will be reserved for pollution control workers in need of skill upgrading.

* * *

Encouraged by a special drive to recruit minorities, large numbers of blacks and Puerto Ricans were among a record 100,000 applicants who signed up to take the New York City police examination. Instead of citywide advertising, the usual practice, the recruiting campaign was conducted with the help of city agencies that deal extensively with minorities. The resulting applicant roster was the biggest for a civil service test in the city's history.

* * *

A comprehensive review of the manpower research and development program of the Manpower Administration and its contributions to knowledge in the manpower field is being carried out by the National Research Council, which is the research arm of the National Academy of Sciences. The study, being made at the request of the Labor Department, calls for the council "to review and assess" the department's total investment in manpower research and development for fiscal years 1963 through 1972. The council is expected to review about 1,200 of the projects funded in the decade covered by the study. As part of its report, the council will recommend directions and emphases for future manpower research and experimental and developmental projects.

* * *

"The New York priest—God knows what he does for a living." That's the theme of an advertising campaign to attract young men in New York to the priesthood.

Street Skills in the World of Work

by Michael J. Bennett

Study Finds Traits of Successful Hustler Impede Transition to Regular Job

Two ambitious counseling and training programs in Chicago in the 1960's, designed to help teenagers make the transition to the working life, failed—and that failure may be symptomatic of failure in similar programs across the country.

Nathan Caplan of the University of Michigan has rendered this reluctant verdict even though he was associated as a researcher with the Chicago Youth Development Project (CYDP) and JOBS I (not part of the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector Program, which uses the same acronym).

"These innovative programs, like many other similar programs carried out by devoted and intelligent action workers, did little to help these youth—at a crucial pivotal point in their lives—during the transition from youth to young adulthood," Caplan says in *Competency Among Hard-to-Employ Youth*,[1] a study commissioned by the Manpower Administration.

"The greatest difficulties of the youth who were the target of these programs arose from their failure to adjust to the

Michael Bennett, a journalist, was the manpower evaluation director for Action for Boston Community Development in 1967-68. As a 1971-72 Congressional Fellow of the American Political Science Association, he worked on a comprehensive manpower bill for U.S. Representative William A. Steiger.

[1] The report is available from the National Technical Information Service, 5285 Port Royal Rd., Springfield, Va., 22151 for $4.75 for a paper copy and $1.45 for microfiche (specify accession number PB 224545/AS). Please enclose payment with order.

Street Skills

world of conventional work," he concludes. "From them, even with the benefit of special manpower programs, satisfactory work adjustment seemed to be an impossibility."

Moreover, the failure to adjust was most noticeable and distinct not among the least able, but among the most able, intelligent, and energetic youth served by the programs.

Caplan, a psychologist and acting director of the Center for Research on the Utilization of Scientific Knowledge of the University of Michigan, does not believe the failure arose from any particular or peculiar defect in CYDP or JOBS I. He points out that both programs were funded—as were hundreds of others—to combat what was seen as a major social and economic problem of the 1960's: "Motivational" unemployment.

Particularly in large metropolitan areas, some able-bodied men in the prime working ages appeared reluctant to seek work, not inclined to accept work when it was made available, or unable or unwilling to remain on jobs they did accept. The term motivational unemployment came into use to characterize those jobless persons whose nonparticipation in the labor force was presumably by choice.

Federal manpower programs during the sixties and into the seventies were unable to overcome such motivational unemployment through counseling, skill training, and job placement, which were primary functions of CYDP and JOBS I.

On its face, Caplan says, the "prescription" of counseling, training, and placement seemed logical, but when put to a real test, it did not succeed. In trying to understand the programs and account for their failure, Caplan became absorbed in the personal histories of a number of the participants, particularly a young man named Bill.

"It is sometimes possible to find a single case that isolates and brings to life the system, the major variables, and key issues," Caplan says in his study. Caplan believes Bill's case conveys the meaning and significance of what Caplan calls "competing competencies" and their role in unemployment among certain youth.

Bill, a 10th grade dropout, had been in the JOBS Program about 2 weeks when he told his counselor he wanted to withdraw, but was willing to accept a job. He was placed as a cleanup man in a large cafeteria. After 3 days on the job he was fired for putting the wrong soap in the dishwashing machine. His employer said Bill was competent but, like many unmotivated people, not interested enough in holding a job to keep his mind on the few simple tasks required to perform the work. Bill said he left the JOBS project because they treated him as if he were "nothing."

Bill's training while in the project included language instruction. He seemed to have unusual difficulty learning "standard, proper" English. Caplan once observed Bill fail repeatedly to pronounce the word "ask" correctly. Despite the project's negative evaluation of Bill's ability to handle language, Caplan contends that Bill "could hardly have been considered ineloquent or deficient in the expressive sphere." Bill was adept at verbal skills and storytelling, Caplan says, and one of Bill's friends suggested that Bill's comments be taped for the project language machine.

Bill was the leader of the Gladiators, a gang with about 10 core members and approximately 40 fringe members. When he or his group needed cash, Bill always knew a hustle, or he could invent a more imaginative and less risky one than suggested by others. He was, in Caplan's words, "alley smart."

Caplan feels Bill's combined talents are perhaps best illustrated by an event that occurred several months after he left JOBS. He and several friends were hanging on their corner, out of money, and unemployed when informed that a gang member had been accidently killed while playing with a gun. The dead member had left no funds to help his young wife and 6-month-old baby or to provide a decent burial.

Within half an hour after learning of the death, Bill mobilized the gang and, by the time of the funeral 2 days later, they provided for the cost of a casket, flowers, a first-rate funeral, and $700 dollars in cash for the widow. In 2½ days, these youth had accumulated over $1,500 through a variety of ingenious ways—all unconventional, "some illegal but not seriously illegal," according to Caplan. Two hours after that funeral, Bill and his friends were again hanging on the corner —broke and unemployed.

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Street Skills

"Bill's skills as exemplified in these activities are worth noting," Caplan contends. "He showed great ability to plan, mobilize his limited resources, and to coordinate the Gladiators' drive to get the most money with the least risk in the shortest time. All things considered, it was quite an achievement. Bill demonstrated intelligence and ingenuity that would have undoubtedly been admired by the inventor, manufacturer, and sales force of the automatic dishwasher which he failed to load properly.

"While the practical means employed for getting fast money lay outside legal formalities, no one was strong armed, no one was asked to give money out of a sense of charity, nor was the money borrowed. By and large, Bill was able to get the necessary money through entrepreneurial know-how, persuasion, and knowledge of everything that went on in the community—and because he was fast-thinking and glib. In short, Bill understood and knew how to operate the quasi-legal economy that can be found in the inner-city areas of any large city. Had he been inclined to use such skills for his own benefit, he could have made a fine life for himself through such hustles."

'Blot Outs' Obliterate Progress

To Caplan, Bill exemplifies the person who is obviously talented and capable if evaluated against the backdrop of his own upbringing, but who is incompetent from the standpoint of the larger community. Such people are unable to behave in the few simple ways required for satisfactory adjustment to employment—even with outside help such as that provided by JOBS and the CYDP.

Caplan finds an explanation of this seeming contradiction in his theory of competing competencies. He cites cases more dramatic than Bill's to make his point, repeated examples of dilligent efforts by project staff members that led to spectacular failure. A youth about to reenter school, take a job, give up delinquent associations, would often respond by fouling up and canceling out months of a project worker's progress in a spectacular way that could not be easily remedied—a "blot out." Caplan offers these examples:

- JB, an 18-year-old Chicano gang leader, absorbed a worker's interest for a year. During that time, more program resources and efforts were devoted to helping JB than any other youth in the 5-year history of the CYDP. Repeated efforts to get JB a job failed, but he agreed to give up leadership of the gang. The worker then moved JB into his own home, and JB agreed to take a full-time job. The night before he was to report to work, JB got drunk with the gang, and for no apparent reason mercilessly beat up a helpless black man, blindly punching away even while being hauled away by police.
- MC was Puerto Rican and a highly successful delinquent bent on a criminal career. After months of private counseling, he suddenly and dramatically pledged himself to reform. An appointment was made with a job counselor for the following morning. That night, MC was shot and killed trying to hold up a local restaurant owner.
- DB was unemployed, highly delinquent, and a dropout when discovered by the project. He had above average intelligence, however, was awarded a scholarship by a youth agency, and admitted to a junior college. On the day he was to appear on a television show as a "success" example, he withdrew from college, spent his entire stipend on new clothes, and joined a militant black organization. Another example was found for the show.

"Other, but not necessarily as dramatic, examples of case failures could be presented to show what appears to express a basic incompatibility between final project objectives and deeply imbedded target population characteristics," Caplan wrote. "These events implicitly tell the dramatic story of a great conflict within these youth that left them unwilling, or unable, to make the most of the opportunities afforded them."

This conflict forms the basis of Caplan's competing competencies concept.

"The theory maintains that preexistent competencies are sometimes incompatible with and hamper the acquisition of skills necessary for satisfactory adjustment to the employment setting," Caplan explains. "Briefly, what distinguishes this view from the more 'typical' explanation of 'motivational' forces in unemployment is the stress on skills—particularly how already established competencies in the repertoire of behaviour may exert a thwarting interference upon the acquisition of new skills—and the intrinsic connection between skill activities and motivation. Central to the theory of competing competencies is the conviction that people are motivated to do things they do best—that a competent self-image is something we are motivated to achieve and maintain."

Consequently, Caplan believes that "knowledge of a person's already existent skills may be more important to predicting future behavior than information of a motivational nature, such as desires, interests, attitudes, goals, expectancies, and incentives." Caplan has found statistical evidence to support his theory in data from the programs.

The relatively early concern about "blot outs" and similar behavior patterns led to commission of an interim study after

CYDP had been operating for 2 years. Project workers saw some hope in the resulting figures. Although only 24 (4 percent) out of 598 youth were classified at the "success" stage, 191 (32 percent) were classified as "near successes." Project street workers assumed that only a final push was needed to move the near successes into the success column.

Not everyone shared their confidence, however, and a second study was commissioned calling for repeated assessments of the status of the same individuals. Data were gathered each week for a year on a select sample of 109 youth being served by the program. The results showed a slightly greater proportion of successes, 7 rather than 4 percent, but an even more significant dynamic was observed. There was a strong tendency for youngsters to backslide after reaching the near success stage.

Of the initial 109 subjects included in the study, 67 reached the near success stage. Of these, 10 (15 percent) moved to the success stage, 19 (28 percent) remained near successes without further change; and 38 (57 percent) dropped back to a lower adjustment stage.

Caplan says that further analysis of the data also confirmed a feeling of program supervisors that certain youth—most of them ranked as near successes at one time or another—had "captured" program workers. "Workers were drawn to these particular youth and persevered in trying to help them because they felt these youngsters held the greatest promise in life," Caplan says. And, he adds, this estimate of ability derived from the workers' awareness of these youths' 'nonstandard' competencies."

Project workers reasoned that these youth would benefit more from the programs because they were more talented—as evidenced by their nonstandard skills—and they were leaders who pull others along. Also, Caplan says, these were the more interesting youth. The worker learned from them, he liked them, he preferred their company, he would get the greatest personal reward by having an impact on their lives.

Caplan divides the youngsters served by the projects into two basic categories: "Mazeway" youth and "floaters." From a study of behavior patterns characteristic of each, he describes the mazeway youth as an achievement imitator. Under the combined onslaught of the conventional institutions that inexorably shape behavior—the home, the school, the church—he adopts a conventional lifestyle which places a premium on safety.

Caplan contends that although mazeway youth sometimes become criminals, far more floaters follow this path. "The floater operates outside the mazeways of school, home, and

church," Caplan says, "and it is there that he develops his competencies which are later either irrelevant or dysfunctional if he tries to reenter the world of conventional employment." However, Caplan argues, the project worker fails to realize that these competencies are not transferable, and rather than change the floaters he becomes an ambassador from the "straight" world, recognizing by his deference the floaters' status in their world.

Although Caplan does not say it, the project worker can become for a skillful floater or gang leader what an English missionary might have been in the court of a minor 19th century Asian potentate: An intelligent, interesting symbol of the benign interest of the establishment. But let's not take seriously that nonsense of dissolving the harem, discontinuing the rent gouging, getting rid of the hashish, and finally becoming a proper Christian gentleman in shirt and tie.

Market, Economic Factors Cited

Implicit in Caplan's observations is the existence of a ghetto society and economy with an aristocracy, which includes not only the minister, politician, undertaker, doctor, grocer, and social worker, but also the pimp, slippery real estate dealer, loan shark, fence, and night club owner. And while many youth aspire to be doctors and lawyers and undertakers, some aspire to be pimps, and loan sharks, and leg breakers, and even madams, if not prostitutes.

Perhaps the major criticism that can be levied against Caplan is that in concentrating on the problems of youth who do not fit into conventional society he gives insufficient attention to the circumstances that may have contributed to their situation. Critics believe Caplan should have paid more attention to market and economic factors. How would the Bills of this study have reacted to jobs better suited to their abilities? Bill did not need help from a manpower program to become a dishwasher, nor would having been fired prevented him from getting a similar job.

Moreover, critics have sensed more than a little contradiction in Caplan's attitudes. They note his euphemistic way of referring to Bill's resourcefulness, leadership, planning, and organizing abilities. Although Caplan describes the activities of Bill and his gang as "hustles" and says they were "not seriously illegal" and "no one was strong armed," the critics point out that these pursuits probably included such things as prostitution, "rolling" drunks, shoplifting, and stealing automobile parts.

Also, the critics contend that as a teenager it was natural for Bill to be ambivalent about his future. And, they add, this ambivalence explains why many of the youth helped would come up to the brink of success and then foul up or drop out. The critics call this an anticipation of "culture shock," and cite similar cases of convicts who, shortly before their scheduled release from prison, do something to lose their freedom because they are afraid to face the world outside.

In brief, the critics find the entire mazeway-floater argument a bit shallow, noting, for example, that follower-floaters must be different than leader-floaters. They also point out that the interactions between the individual and his environment that produce floaters could be elaborated considerably.

In the end, two alternative responses to the situation are postulated by the critics.

First, let youth like Bill alone. They are making it. Their charge on society is a random taxation it can bear as easily as other public service costs. Moreover, as they grow older, acquire wives, children, disabilities, and fears, they may retire from the floater life. If not, they join the natural constituency of the police and courts.

Second, change the manpower programs. The JOBS I program was not considered to be particularly good. The on-the-job training side of it fell apart, and the best classroom training offered was in clerical machines and would have served women better than young men. To get the Bills into the mainstream give them a better program, the critics say, secure placements that can use a lot of genuinely transferable competencies, and teach other skills—proper English as an alternative second language to street English, for instance—as additive, rather than competitive competencies.

Finally, both Caplan and the critics probably would agree that manpower planners, personnel administrators, policymakers, and street workers should pay considerably less attention to "motivational" factors and much more to competency and potential and the economic environment.

Yet, when the debaters' points have been made on both sides, there remains the nagging question why persons who share similar backgrounds and life experiences should respond so differently to efforts to channel them into the economic mainstream. By attempting to distinguish between mazeway youth and floaters, and by examining the street skills of the latter, Caplan may be opening up new ways of understanding and doing something about a problem that perplexes all who work with ghetto youth. His study is hardly the last word, but it may be the opening word in an investigation that must continue as long as there are significant numbers of youngsters who do not seem to fit into the straight world despite their possession of impressive nonstandard skills. □

From Trainee To Trainer

by Rhonda Burton

The disadvantaged jobless find it hard to get work. They find it nearly impossible to advance into the ranks of management.

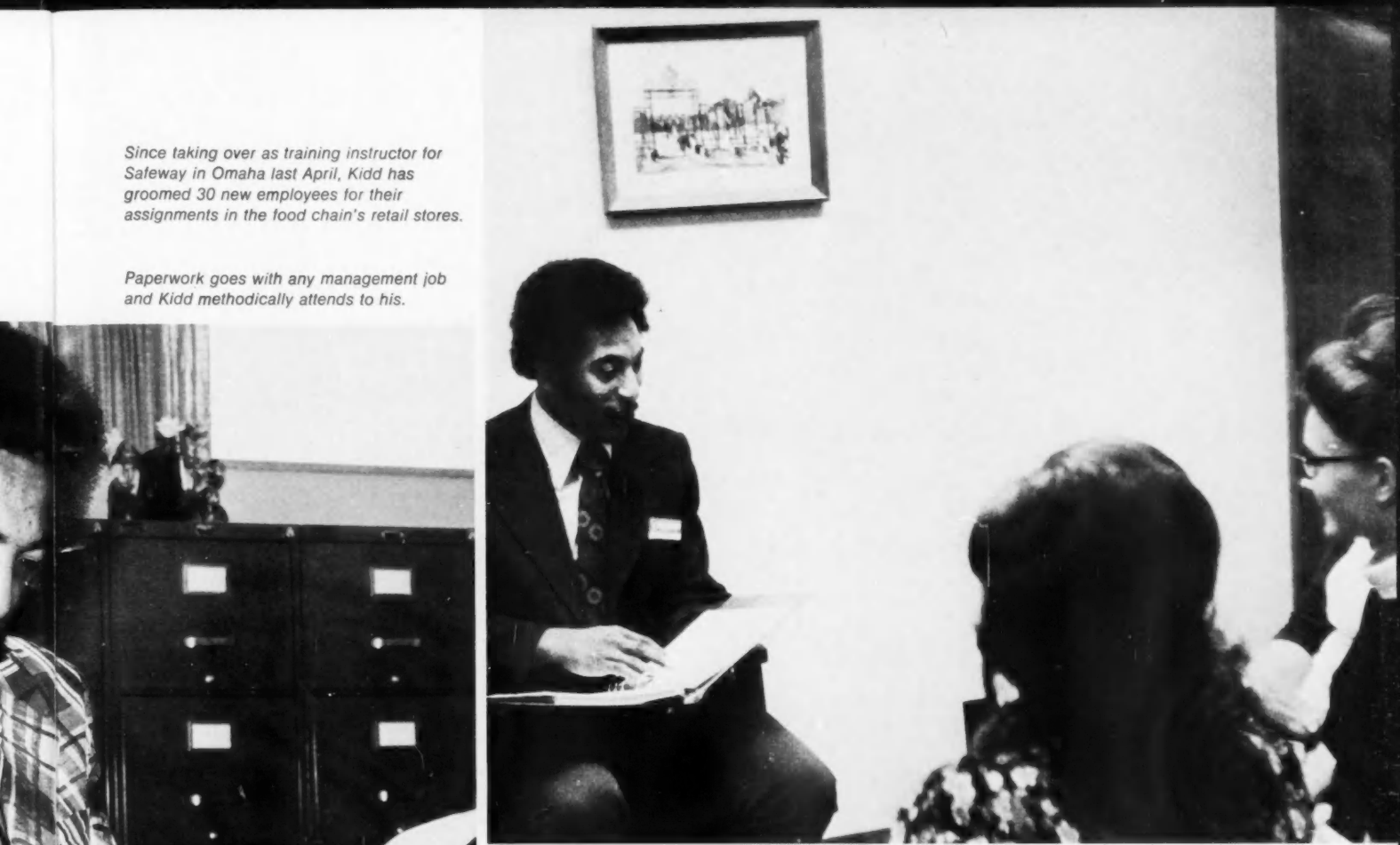
But that is what Tony Kidd, 23, of Omaha has done. In 1970 he was a grocery clerk trainee for Safeway Stores. Today he is Safeway's training instructor in Omaha and is completing his college education with the food chain's help.

Kidd was another face in the crowd of 46 disadvantaged people hired by Safeway in the summer of 1970 under the Manpower Administration's Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) Program. JOBS encourages employers to hire and train the disadvantaged by helping them meet the extraordinary costs of recruiting, counseling, job related training, and needed supportive services.

Rhonda Burton is the information representative for the Nebraska Department of Labor's Division of Employment.

Psychologically, enrolling in JOBS was a step backward for Kidd. A few weeks earlier he was finishing up his second year at a Nebraska College on an athletic scholarship. A personality clash with a coach caused him to lose the scholarship and dashed his hopes for a degree in psychology. It also left him without resources, as his widowed mother was supporting five other children on a salary of less than $70 a week.

Kidd's dependable performance as a food clerk earned him a promotion to section chief and eventually to training instructor.



Since taking over as training instructor for Safeway in Omaha last April, Kidd has groomed 30 new employees for their assignments in the food chain's retail stores.

Paperwork goes with any management job and Kidd methodically attends to his.

He went to the State employment service office in Omaha for help and the interviewer placed him in the JOBS slot with Safeway. He became a grocery clerk trainee at $2.42 an hour and found himself engaged in such chores as washing windows, mopping floors, carrying and checking out groceries for customers, and stocking shelves.

In August 1971—with his JOBS trainee status well behind him—Kidd was asked to take a job as a food clerk in a new store. The assignment involved helping to get the store ready to open. Only 4 days remained to prepare for the opening, and Kidd found himself working nights to set up equipment, stock shelves, build displays, wax floors, and wash windows. The deadline was met, and the job was done well. It wasn't long before Kidd's first-rate job performance earned him a promotion to section chief, in charge of frozen foods and other items.

Last April Kidd was informed that Omaha's Safeway's training instructor (the organization has only one) had been promoted to store manager. Would Kidd be interested? He was, and 3 days later he was training his first group. He has since trained 30 new employees in sessions lasting 2 weeks for regular recruits and up to 21 weeks for JOBS participants. Kidd now earns $170 a week plus expenses and fringe benefits.

Most of the JOBS trainees who came to Safeway with Kidd in 1970 still are on the job. And although Kidd has done better than the rest, Safeway says it did him no special favors. "He's always been a good company man because he sold himself on Safeway," says employee relations manager Elmer Harder. "His work habits are exemplary and he has a knack for getting people to work together."

The National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB), which cosponsors the JOBS Program with the Manpower Administration, has moved to use Kidd's talents for getting along with others. Kidd has been named project director for the Omaha NAB's Youth Motivational Task Force. His duties include visiting high schools and talking to students about the importance of education and of acquiring job skills.

Neither Kidd nor his employer care to predict where he will go from here. But with the company picking up 75 percent of the cost, Kidd is studying history and psychology at the University of Nebraska, one class at night and the other on company time. And that just might be interpreted as a hint that the company believes Kidd's future holds more than a degree in psychology. □

R&D Reports

Following is a selected list of reports on research and development projects funded by the Manpower Administration. Unless otherwise indicated, copies of reports are available from the National Technical Information Service (NTIS), Springfield, Va. 22151 for $1.45 for microfiche or for the price given in the individual listing for a paper copy. Send remittance with order and specify accession number (PB plus six-digit number). Special arrangements may usually be made for bulk orders.

Project SPRUCE: Special Program of Rehabilitation for Unemployment Compensation Exhaustees

Project sought to identify from among the people collecting unemployment insurance those who were most likely to exhaust all their benefits before finding another job, ascertain what kinds of employment handicaps these people had, and measure the effectiveness of special services in restoring them to employment. NTIS (PB 224011). $3.50.

Training and Skill Acquisition: A Pilot Case Study

Analyzes training procedures, sources, costs, and benefits of skill acquisition, and transferability of skills in the Gishot Machine Company, Madison, Wis. Also appraises methodological techniques in surveys of company training programs, and contains a review and bibliography on company training programs. NTIS (PB 220155). $3.

Correctional Officer Training in Behavior Modification: Final Report (1970-73)

Findings from a 3-year project which trained 40 correctional officers as behavioral change agents, encouraged them to view the institution as a rehabilitative instrument, and taught them the fundamental principles and techniques of behavior modification in ways which could be applied in a prison setting. NTIS (PB 222301). $4.25.

A Systems Approach to a Taxonomy of Disadvantagement

Analyzes the means of assessing and classifying applicants for assignment to manpower services and referral to employment. An exceptionally clear, comprehensive, and cogent critique of the major methods used to differentiate applicants for service, and an outline of a new approach with more promise. NTIS (PB 221697). $7.75.

Report on Employer Services Improvement Project in Illinois and Pennsylvania

Describes how a representative group from a local employer community, working together with the local employment service, identified problems and found solutions which led to increased use of the public employment service by the entire employer community. Project developed a model for communities to use to bring together employers and the employment service to improve services to employers. NTIS (PB 221750). $12.

Determinants of Early Labor Market Success Among Young Men: Race, Ability, Quantity and Quality of Schooling

Study tested a series of hypotheses regarding the determinants of early labor market success among out-of-school young men, where the principal measures of "success" were hourly earnings and social status of occupation. Found that amount of schooling was the single most important direct determinant of early success and was more important for occupational status than for hourly earnings; the effect of race interacts with family background in determining early success; "inheritance of poverty" was a more serious problem for young blacks than for whites; and family socioeconomic background had virtually no effect on ability, schooling, or the early labor market achievements of young men. NTIS (PB 214674). $3.

Employment Assistance to Ex-Servicemen With Other Than Honorable Discharges

Examines and analyzes benefits which holders of Exemplary Rehabilitation Certificates receive in seeking or retaining employment. The Exemplary Rehabilitation Certificate program, established in 1966 by public law, permits ex-servicemen who received other than honorable discharges to obtain a certificate, upon evidence of 3 years' good conduct, which entitles them to special counseling and job development assistance at employment service offices. NTIS (PB 220314). $3.

An Expanded Public Service Employment Program: Some Supply and Demand Considerations

Considers the capability of local governments to expand employment of low-skilled workers. Presents a profile of workers in large American metropolitan areas who earned less than $4,500 in 1966 and then describes jobs provided by city governments in Oakland and San Francisco which could be held by such people. Investigates relationship between the number of jobs potentially available and the supply of low-skilled workers. Findings indicate that employment in the cities studied could be expanded by 10-15 percent in low-skilled categories without severe disruption, costly additional inputs, or obvious "make-work." NTIS (PB 224388). $3.75.

An Experiment in Using Layoff Time for Improving Workers' Achievement Potential

Report on 2 years of operation of the Job Advancement Training program in the Antioch-Pittsburgh area of northern California, which examined the feasibility of training workers during periods of cyclical or seasonal layoffs to improve their general performance and promotability upon return to work. NTIS (PB 217105). $3.

Welfare Careers and Low-Wage Employment

Comparative analysis of working welfare recipients and nonwelfare low-wage workers, which points out the interdependence between working and being on welfare. The researchers concluded that many people combine low-wage jobs with welfare rather than rely completely on welfare. NTIS (PB 221197). $6.75.

An Economic Analysis of the Work Experience and Career Exploration Program: 1971-72 School Year

Presents a study of the Work Experience and Career Exploration Program as it operated during the 1971-72 school year. Findings suggest that limited labor market experience during school hours can improve the educational performance of 14- and 15-year-old students who are dropout prone or who otherwise suffer educational disabilities. However, as a general rule, the optimum hours these students should work per day and per week are fewer than the current program constraints. NTIS (PB 223366). $5.75.

A Model for Training the Disadvantaged: TAT at Oak Ridge, Tenn.

Describes the Training and Technology (TAT) Program, which has been conducted since 1966 by Oak Ridge Associated Universities and the Nuclear Division, Union Carbide Corporation, at the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission's Oak Ridge, Y-12 plant. In the TAT Program, craftsmen train mostly young, disadvantaged individuals in a setting similar to real-life working conditions in a factory. Describes 7 years of experience which have provided some cogent answers to queries concerning the best way to provide effective skill training to the disadvantaged. Specify Manpower Research Monograph No. 29. Available from Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. 85 cents.

☆U.S. Government Printing Office: 1974—543-616/6

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Remodeling buildings for community use and maintaining a police precinct headquarters are two ways ex-addicts are learning the disciplines needed to get and hold steady jobs. It's all part of *Wildcatting on the Sidewalks of New York*, and there's a report on how the prospecting is going in this issue of MANPOWER.